

Message Text

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15

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

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INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

AMCONSUL MEDAN

AMCONSUL SURABAYA

C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 15655

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR ID VN ASEAN LA

SUBJ: INDONESIA AND INDOCHINA-AFTER THE FALL

1. SUMMARY: SINCE FALL OF INDOCHINA LAST APRIL, INDO-
NESIAN POLICY TOWARDS INDOCHINA HAS BEEN ONE OF OFFERING
CAUTIOUS HAND OF FREINDSHIP IN FAINT HOPE IT MIGHT BE
ACCEPTED, WHILE ATTEMPTING TO STRENGTHEN ITS ANTI-INFIL-
TRATION/SUBVERSION MEASURES AGAINST THE DAY, WHICH GOI
FEARS IS LIKELY TO COME WITHIN NEXT FIVE YEARS, WHEN HANOI
MAY ATTEMPT TO EXPORT REVOLUTION TO INDONESIA. WHILE
PART OF INDONESIAN STRATEGY IS TO STRENGTHEN ASEAN
SECURITY COOPERATION, GOI HAS NOT MADE SERIOUS EFFORT TO
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ELICIT SUPPORT OF ASEAN BRETHREN BY IN TURN SHOWING ENTHUS-

IASM FOR GREATER ECONOMIC COOPERATION WHICH SOME OTHERS, NOTABLY SINGAPORE, CONSIDER ESSENTIAL TO GROWTH OF ORGANIZATION. IN ABSENCE NOTABLE SHIFT IN DIRECTION BY HANOI, IT SEEMS LIKELY INDONESIAN POLICY WILL CONTINUE ALONG PRESENT LINES FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE. END SUMMARY

2. PRIOR TO FALL OF INDOCHINA GOI WAS DEEPLY PESSIMISTIC ABOUT CHANCES OF NON-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS THERE, SINCE, IN INDONESIAN VIEW, THOSE GOVERNMENTS LACKED ESSENTIAL "NATIONAL RESILIENCE" NECESSARY FOR ULTIMATE SURVIVAL. INDONESIAN EXPERIENCE IN ICCS, WHICH REINFORCED THEIR PESSIMISM RE RVN, HAS MADE GOI BELIEVE IT HAS SPECIAL INSIGHT INTO VIETNAM. INDONESIANS WERE, HOWEVER, DEEPLY SHOCKED OVER SPEED OF COLLAPSE, WHICH THEY HAD NOT EXPECTED UNTIL AFTER END OF THEIR SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN IN 1978 AND WERE, BY THEIR OWN ADMISSION, UNPREPARED TO FACE COMMUNIST INDOCHINA TO NORTH.

3. DESPITE SHOCK OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER, AND INITIAL FEARS THAT THIS MIGHT PRESAGE US WITHDRAWAL FROM AREA, GOI REACTED COOLY AND DELIBERATELY. AS A THIRD WORLD COUNTRY, WITH LEGACY OF SUKARNO ERA, GOI WAS NOT IN TOTALLY UNFAVORABLE POSITION. GOI HAD CONTINUED FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH HANOI AND PERMITTED NLF REPRESENTATIVE TO REMAIN IN PLACE IN JAKARTA. INDONESIA WAS PROVIDING \$1 MILLION IN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO LAOS, ONLY SUCH ASSISTANCE SUHARTO GOVERNMENT HAS EVER OFFERED. IN CASE OF CAMBODIA, GOI WAS HOWEVER IN MUCH LESS FAVORABLE POSITION DUE TO ITS STRONG BACKING OF GKR.

4. SHORTLY AFTER FALL OF PHNOM PENH IN APRIL GOI EXTENDED FORMAL RECOGNITION TO GRUNK, BUT MADE NO SPECIAL EFFORTS TO FOLLOW UP ON MATTER. WHEN, IN EARLY NOVEMBER, GOI RECEIVED LETTER FROM GRUNK THANKING INDONESIA FOR EXTENDING RECOGNITION, IT CAME AS A SURPRISE TO INDONESIANS. GRUNK MADE NO MENTION OF EXCHANGE OF EMBASSIES AND GOI IS NOT PRESSING.

5. INDONESIA GUESSED CORRECTLY FROM BEGINNING THAT UNIFICATION OF VIETNAM WOULD NOT BE LONG IN COMING. GOI WAITED UNTIL JULY TO ANNOUNCE THAT IT WAS EXTENDING RECOGNITION TO PRG AS GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM, BUT MADE NO EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A MISSION IN SAIGON. CLOSURE IN LATE JULY OF NLF OFFICE IN CONFIDENTIAL

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JAKARTA REINFORCED GOI IN ITS VIEW THAT EMBASSY IN HANOI COULD SOON HANDLE INDONESIA'S RELATIONS WITH ALL OF VIETNAM, WITH POSSIBILITY OF CONSULATE IN SAIGON AT SOME LATER DATE. RECENTLY HANOI'S CRITICISM OF INDONESIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN TIMOR HAS COOLED RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

6. GOI HAS FOLLOWED CHANGE IN COMPOSITION OF LAO GOVERNMENT WITHOUT SURPRISE AND DOES NOT INTEND TO WITHHOLD ANY OF

\$1 MILLION ASSISTANCE NOT YET PROVIDED. REFLECTING EVENTS, NEW GOI CHARGE IN VIENTIANE WILL BE COL IMAM SUPOMO, PRESENTLY A SENIOR OFFICIAL IN STATE INTELLIGENCE BAORD (BAKIN), WHO WILL DEPART FOR VIENTIANE IN EARLY JANUARY

7. WHILE EXTENDING CAUTIOUS HAND OF FREINDSHIP TO COMMUNIST REGIMES IN INDOCHINA IN HOPE THAT INDOCHINA MIGHT BECOME AN ASIAN YUGOSLAVIA LARGELY PREOCCUPIED WITH ITS INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT, GOI IS PESSIMISTIC THAT SUCH A HAPPY OUTCOME WILL RESULT. GOI EXPECTS THAT HANOI WILL RESIST INFLUENCE OF BOTH MOSCOW AND PEKING AND WILL INITIALLY ENTER PERIOD OF INTERNAL CONSOLIDATION-AND PERHAPS STRUGGLE WITH PRO-PEKING PHNOM PENH-WHICH MIGHT TAKE AS LONG AS FIVE YEARS. AFTER INTERNAL CONSOLIDATION HAS BEEN ACHEIVED, GOI BELIEVES IT HIGHLY LIKELY HANOI WILL SUPPORT SUBVERSION IN INDONESIA, PARTICULARLY IN SOUTH CHINA SEA TRIANGLE OF EASTERN SUMATRA, WESTERN KALIMANTAN (AND SARAWAK) AND NATUNA ISLAND WHERE VIETNAMESE COULD EASILY INFILTRATE ARMS AND AMMUNITION FROM GVN STOCKS. (TO DATE THERE HAS BEEN NO EVIDENCE OF SUCH AN EFFORT.)

8. TO MEET THIS EXPECTED CHALLENGE GOI IS PLACING TOP PRIORITY ON ANTI-INFILTRATION/SUBVERSION MEASURES, LARGELY IN FORM OF IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION, IN TRIANGLE AREA, AND HAS SOUGHT INCREASED MILITARY AID FROM US. HOWEVER, PROPOSED EXPENDITURE OF GOI FUNDS IS MODEST, AND OVER-ALL BUDGETARY PRIORITY CONTINUES TO GO TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WHICH GOI CONSIDERS ONLY LONG RANGE BARRIER AGAINST COMMUNIST REVIVAL.

9. GOI IS ALSO SUGGESTING TO ASEAN BRETHERN INCREASED COOPERATION IN SECURITY FIELD, ALTHOUGH NOTHING SO DRAMATIC
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AS A SECURITY PACT. GOI VIEWS THAILAND AS ALREADY THREATENED BY HANOI'S AGGRESSION, CHANNELED THROUGH LAOS. (GOI VIEWS MALAYSIA'S PROBLEMS AS EMANATING FROM PEKING, NOT HANOI.) INDONESIAN OFFICIALS IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS REFLECT SOME CHAGRIN THAT OTHER ASEAN NATIONS, NOTABLY SINGAPORE AND TO A LESSER EXTENT THAILAND AND PHILIPPINES, APPEAR LESS INTERESTED IN IMPROVED SECURITY COOPERATION THAN INDONESIA FEELS SITUATION WARRANTS. HOWEVER, GOI OFFICIALS SHOW LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR STRENGTHENED ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITHIN ASEAN WHICH SINGAPOREANS AND OTHERS ARE PROPOSING, AND APPARENTLY DO NOT CONSIDER THAT A MORE FORTHCOMING INDONESIAN STANCE ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION MIGHT ELICIT MORE COOPERATION IN SECURITY AFFAIRS. THERE IS, APPARENTLY, AGREEMENT AMONG ASEAN NATIONS ON ONE POINT; IE THAT FOR PRESENT NO INVITATIONS SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO INDOCHINA REGIMES TO JOIN ASEAN

OR ATTEND MEETINGS AS OBSERVERS.

10. COMMENT: SHORT OF SOME CLEAR MOVE BY HANOI-EITHER IN
DIRECTION OF ACCOMODATION WITH NON-COMMUNIST SEA GOVERNMENTS
OR IN CONFRONTATION WITH THEM, IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT FOR
FORSEEABLE FUTURE INDONESIA WILL CONTINUE ITS PRESENT POLICY
OF OFFERING A WARY HAND OF FRIENDSHIP TO INDOCHINA REGIMES
WHILE ATTEMPTING TO SHORE UP ANTI-INFILTRATION/SUBVERSION
DEFENSES BOTH IN INDONESIA AND WITHIN ASEAN.
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